1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
591 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
[591] of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
[551] had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the
[835] same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrange-
[827] ments. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time, even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-